

French business gloomy as unions flex muscles

Strikes cost £2.6bn, say employers

By David Buchanan in Paris

France's Patronat employers' federation yesterday added to increasing gloom about the country's growth prospects by estimating that the recent public sector strikes had added a FF20bn (£2.6bn) bill to an economy that may already be in recession.

Mr Jean Gandois, the Patronat president, said his federation was in no position to play "Father Christmas" at the "social summit" of the government, employers and unions convened by Prime Minister Alain Juppé for tomorrow.

The Patronat would block any attempt by the unions to argue for a boost to consumer demand through general private sector wage increases, he said.

Mr Denis Kessler, a Patronat vice-president responsible for economic affairs, was more pessimistic than Insee, the government statistics agency, which on Monday put the strikes' cost at up to FF8bn and forecast 0.1 per cent growth in the final quarter of this year and 0.7 per cent in the first half of 1996.

"We believe growth will be slightly negative in the final quarter, and therefore we could actually be in recession," said Mr Kessler, predicting output in the first three months would be flat and that no upturn would come before the second quarter of next year. These forecasts are likely to encourage the unions to use tomorrow's summit to press for inflation measures benefiting their members.

While ruling out any further pay measures beyond the 4 per cent increase in the national minimum wage last summer, Mr Juppé has said tomorrow's meeting will discuss ways of restoring confidence and growth to the economy.

With monetary policy and

general interest rates in the hands of the Bank of France, the government is studying a series of possible micro-measures to boost the economy. These are understood to include allowing employees to take money out of employee-savings schemes to buy consumer durables, reducing the interest rate on government savings accounts, and pumping more public money into the building sector.

Mr Juppé has also put youth unemployment and reduction of working time on the "social summit" agenda. Mr Gandois said the Patronat believed that tomorrow's tripartite discussions could be useful in improving youth job schemes but he strongly warned against any attempt by government to legislate on working time, which was already being negotiated between employers and unions.

During his election campaign, President Chirac ridiculed Socialist calls to reduce working time to open more slots for job-seekers, but the Juppé government now appears to look rather more favourably on the idea.

Union leaders have warned that if they fail to get satisfaction at tomorrow's meeting, the protest movement could flare up again. But an afternoon demonstration yesterday evening against Mr Juppé's welfare plans attracted only a few thousand people in central Paris, mainly employees of Electricité de France, Gaz de France, France Télécom and Paris' RATP metro/bus system.

The need to catch up on maintenance and safety work still prevented a full service on the SNCF which had to halt its TGV service to Brussels because of a Belgian rail strike. Garbage workers in Bordeaux, of which Mr Juppé is mayor, also yesterday ended a strike of nearly three weeks.

Workers halt Bank of France job cuts

By Andrew Jack in Paris

Employees of the Bank of France yesterday disrupted a meeting scheduled to announce up to 800 job cuts, and forced the governor to agree to a three-month delay for further negotiations.

Unions at the bank, which operates independently from the French government, said more than 200 staff occupied a room where a works committee meeting was due to take place yesterday afternoon, interrupting discussions by chanting and playing musical instruments.

The action, out of keeping with the bank's reputation for calm monetary policy management, came after three weeks' of industrial action across the public sector and just a few days after it had twice lowered key interest rates in indications of confidence in the government's tough economic policies.

About 30 per cent of the bank's 17,000 staff went on strike for several days earlier this month as part of widespread protests against government plans to reform the social security system and reduce some "special regimes" for pensions, including the bank's own pension scheme.

Employees have also been expressing growing concerns about proposals to restructure the organisation to save costs. Mr Jean-Claude Trichet, the governor, has proposed cutting 800 jobs in the next three to four years in its banknote printing operations, as part of a plan to make the service competitive in the battle for future contracts including that for the single European currency.

An echo of criticisms against prime minister Mr Alain Juppé's reforms, unions called yesterday for the withdrawal of the "Trichet plan" and argued that the governor had failed to consult or discuss alternative suggestions.

Kinnock passes test with flying colours

The EU transport commissioner won the best available deal on state aid for Iberia

By Emma Tucker in Brussels and Michael Skapinker in London

If there is an unwritten rule about the awarding of state aid to European airlines, it is that even in a liberalised market, no national flag carrier will ever be allowed to go bust.

The European Commission - chief scrutineer of state aid - can lay down conditions, tighten restrictions and force the sale of assets, but it is under immense political pressure from the member states to support government efforts to keep ailing airlines alive.

In this sense, Mr Neil Kinnock, did not fail his first big test as transport commissioner in allowing the Spanish government to inject Pta87bn (£485m) into the state-owned Iberia airline. He got the best and tightest deal that could be expected within a club of 15 states, where pressure from "back home" is the order of the day.

The Spanish carrier received Pta43bn less than it asked for and the aid was only allowed after fairly dramatic steps had been taken. For example, Iberia had to sell a core business - Aerolíneas Argentinas, a subsidiary that was draining it of \$800m a year.

The airline has meanwhile frozen all salaries and made 3,000 workers redundant. Further, the Commission - advised by Deloitte, Touche and Ross - considered that the risk of investing in Iberia was



Neil Kinnock (left) and his officials believe their terms for permitting state aid to the ailing Spanish carrier have 'pared Iberia to the bone'. But privately owned airlines say the commissioner bowed to government pressure and fear he may do so again.

There are no demands officially on the Commission's table, but there are rumours that Alitalia could be next with the begging bowl.

However, Mr Avery also pointed out that the system of allowing government cash injections into airlines was not as damaging to healthy carriers as the Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection system in the US.

In the US, he said, airlines in Chapter 11 could move their operations to a different part of the country and challenge competitors there. Cultural and language barriers make it difficult for European airlines to do this.

At least one of the most enthusiastic proponents of airline competition, British Midland, accepted that allowing Iberia to go bankrupt was a political impossibility. Mr Austin Reid, British Midland's managing director, said: "One has to be pragmatic and realistic about this."

"We believe state aid is an evil and a distortion of competition, but having seen how the European Commission works, at a certain point it gets taken out of the industry's hands and put in the political arena."

Mr Kinnock might well agree. But he would also point out that the conditions are getting stricter, the amounts awarded are getting smaller, and state airlines are increasingly looking to strategic alliances as a less painful way of ensuring their future.

Stahl, the German steel plant - the Commission allows a government to make an investment only after it is satisfied that a private investor would have been prepared to act in the same way.

All this, however, is of little comfort to Europe's private airlines, many of which feel let down by Mr Kinnock.

British Airways - itself a recipient of generous state aid in its time - said: "Mr Kinnock appeared initially to be going along the right rails, but it's sad to see him bow to Spanish political pressure."

When Mr Kinnock first took up his Brussels appointment, many in the privatised airline sector had high hopes that he would back their cause fully. They were impressed by the amount of reading on the aviation industry he had done in London before taking up his post and how well informed he appeared to be.

But last week, one industry observer said the Iberia announcement was a bad omen for the future. "Spain is not the toughest country in the EU. If you take a tilt at Spain and lose, what happens when you come up against Air France again?"

Last year the French government won approval from Brussels for a FF20bn (£2.6bn) bail-out for Air France. At the time the French government promised the Commission that this would be the last time it asked for a government prop, but the airline is still struggling to recover.

Mr Chris Avery, an analyst at Paribas Capital Markets in London, said Mr Kinnock's announcement was bad news for Europe's privately owned airlines because other state carriers would now believe they could win approval for further infusions of government money.

Highly paid pilots almost sank rescue

By David White in Madrid

It was a near-miss for Iberia. It had to receive fresh capital by the year-end - with or without the Commission's permission - to avoid bankruptcy.

Its pilots, among the highest-paid in Europe and backed by a powerful union, made matters worse for the 80-year-old Spanish flag-carrier by launching a series of strikes last month. The airline's viability plan, agreed after tough negotiations a year ago, included pay cuts of 40 per cent according to the union. If the government

was not coming up with the capital to back the plan, they wanted their money back.

Partly because of the strikes, Iberia is expected to show an increased loss of around Pta47bn (£2.4bn) this year, after provisions to pay for job cuts, compared to Pta41.5bn in 1994. The aim is to break even next year.

After months of delays - Madrid had hoped for a decision by the end of the summer - the agreement reached with transport commissioner Mr Neil Kinnock was less than the Spanish sought but more than

they feared. In 1992 Spain obtained permission to pump Pta120bn into the airline - on condition that it applied for no further state support before the end of 1996. But with Iberia weighed down by losses from investments in South America, Madrid sought to inject another Pta130bn, against

objections from other international carriers and Spanish private-sector airlines. It has obtained permission for up to Pta107bn - Pta87bn at first, with the possibility of up to Pta20bn more in 1997 depending on how Iberia performs.

And how strictly it adheres to the plan, which includes cutting 3,500 jobs.

The Spanish government insists this is not "state aid" but a "market investment". Mr Juan Manuel Eguiguren, industry minister said: "If there had been a group of private investors, we would not have spent a year negotiating with the European Commission. They would just have invested, with no further aid."

The money will be supplemented from the sale of South American holdings. Most of Iberia's 83 per cent stake in

Aerolíneas Argentinas and its 38 per cent stake in Ladeo de Chile are to be sold to a joint venture in which Iberia's parent, the state holding company Teneo, will have 40 per cent alongside US investment banks Merrill Lynch and Bankers Trust. This operation is set to yield Pta15-16bn in cash, with a similar amount due later.

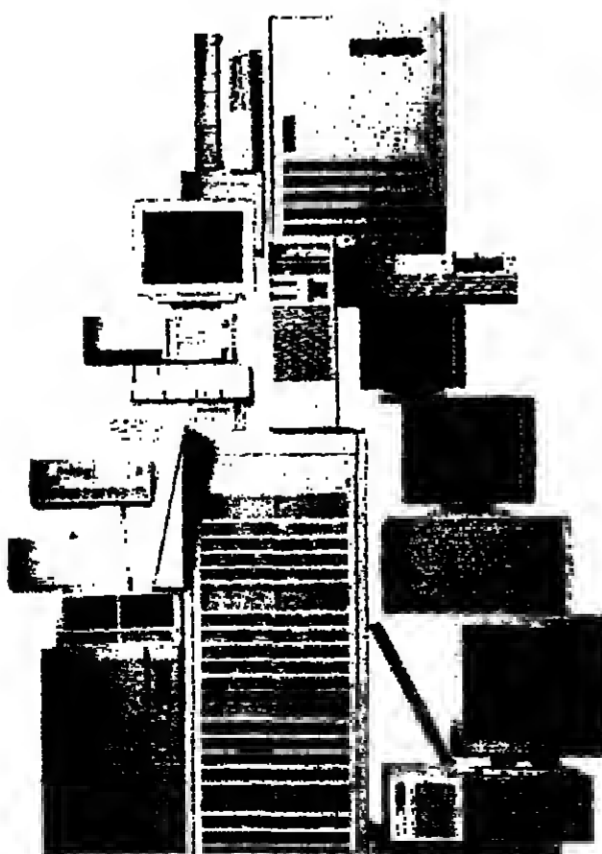
The main uncertainty now is the pilots, whose dispute is now in the hands of mediators. The Teneo holding company has warned it will only provide the capital increase if the viability plan is respected.

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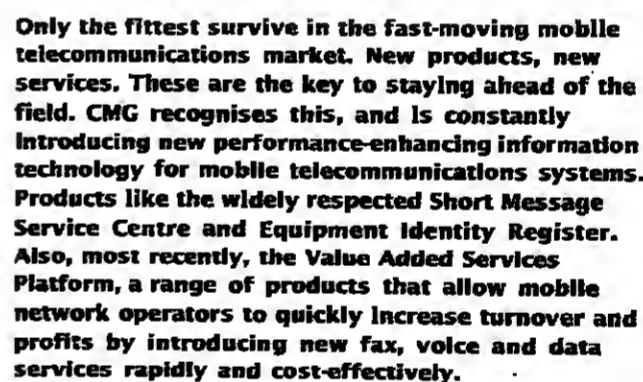
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COMPANY NEWS: UK

Strong Eurotherm cautious on growth

By Tim Burt

Eurotherm yesterday underlined its claim to be one of Europe's fastest growing industrial controls manufacturers by reporting a 31 per cent increase in profits.

The company, which makes temperature controls, gauges and drives for electric motors, saw pre-tax profits rise from £26.1m to £34.1m (£4m) on increased sales of £195.4m (£168m) in the year to October 31.

In thin trading, however, Eurotherm shares fell 15p to 58p after the group hinted it could be difficult to sustain current growth levels.

Mr Jack Leonard, chairman,

said: "It would be wrong to expect that, in less favourable periods, we will be able to advance profits at the rates we have seen recently."

Nevertheless, he predicted the company could offset weakening demand by launching new products in the next quarter. Sales of such products helped lift operating profits last year from £25.6m to £32.8m, while earnings per share jumped to 25.1p against 19.4p. Margins, meanwhile, rose from 15.5 per cent to 17.5 per cent.

"Advances were made throughout the group," Mr Leonard added.

Mr Chas Sultan, chief executive, said the group

would use its net cash balances of £21.4m (£21.6m) to underpin organic growth and fund further research and development.

Eurotherm has, for example, drawn up plans for a new £3.5m drives plant in North America and increased its R&D spending from £7.4m to £8.8m.

"We have a very focused product development programme under way and that should bear fruit this year."

He also highlighted a small fall in stocks, which fell from £23.1m to £22.6m, despite sales rising 16.3 per cent.

The company proposes a 4.5p final dividend, lifting the year-end total from 6.5p to 7.5p.

LEX COMMENT

BTR disposal

The biggest surprise over BTR's £300m sale of Dunlop Slazenger is that the deal has taken 10 years to happen. The sporting goods business has sat oddly with BTR's policy of focusing on core manufacturing businesses.

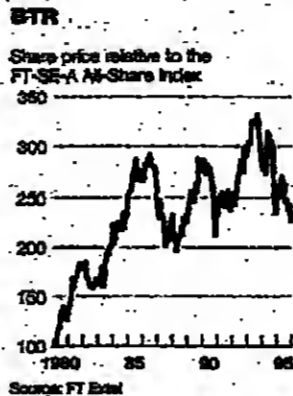
In the hands of the cost-oriented industrial conglomerate, Dunlop Slazenger has missed out on the great boom among sporting goods companies, namely leisure wear and footwear. The return on sales last year was less than 7 per cent and profits are substantially below the levels of the late 1980s.

A more marketing-oriented management should be able to generate greater revenues from what still remain strong brand names. Nonetheless, BTR looks to have got a high price. And it is clearly good news for shareholders that BTR is enhancing earnings from the disposal, while at the same time improving the group's strategic focus and bringing down debt.

For those concerned over balance sheet gearing, this will fall below 100 per cent on completion of the sale, and should be less than 70 per cent by the end of 1996. Meanwhile, interest cover could rise above eight times, leaving the company well-equipped to feed a growing demand for expansionary capital expenditure from its existing businesses.

This creates a platform from which Mr Ian Strachan, the incoming chief executive, should be able to start reversing three years of substantial share price underperformance.

Even with 1996 forecasts cut back by the recent profits warning, the shares trade at a discount to the market. This is undeserved.



Buy back by National Power

National Power yesterday spent £243m on buying back 4.4 per cent of its shares. It was taking advantage of the fall in price following the referral of its bid for Southern Electric to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission.

The generator said the purchase would enhance its earnings per share by between 2 per cent and 3 per cent in a full year and would

increase its gearing by about 9 per cent. It stressed that the buy-back at 428p did not affect its commitment to the Southern acquisition nor its international aspirations.

Analysts saw the move as a signal that National Power would pass more value back to shareholders if the acquisition of Southern were blocked.

National Power's shares rose 2p to 429p.

Slow demand limits Howden to advance of 4%

By Tim Burt

Howden Group, the Scottish industrial equipment manufacturer, yesterday reported a modest 4 per cent increase in first-half profits amid sluggish demand for its tunnel boring machines and North American fans.

The company saw pre-tax profits edge ahead from £10.8m to £11m (£17.4m) on increased sales of £211.6m (£193.8m) in the six months to October 31. Mr Alan

MacLachlan, director of corporate services, described the improvement as "steady if unspectacular" given market conditions in continental Europe and the US.

Although operating profits rose from £12.2m to £13.4m, Mr MacLachlan said the group had been held back by losses at the Howden Fan Company in North America, where sales for power station fans were below expectations.

At the same time, its Wirth tunnel-

boring subsidiary in Germany struggled against flat markets.

Howden has decided to split Wirth into two operating units - one concentrating on tunnelling equipment and the other on specialist drilling products, which have proved more profitable.

Directors said the group had also embarked on a cost-cutting programme in the US, which is not expected to produce benefits before next year.

Mr MacLachlan, meanwhile, justified

a 40 per cent increase in working capital from £58.2m to £81.4m, saying it was necessary to meet second-half orders.

Those orders rose 26 per cent to £243m in the first half, but growth is expected to slow before the year end. At the same time, funds required for working capital helped lift borrowings from £14m to £51.8m - equal to gearing of 47 per cent, a level expected to fall before the year end.

Courtaulds Text warns on profits

By David Blackwell

A combination of the UK's hot summer, the social unrest in France and US stores adjusting stocks prompted Courtaulds Textiles to issue a profits warning yesterday.

Shares in the group - the UK's second largest clothing and fabrics manufacturer - fell by 24p to 378p as City analysts cut forecasts back by about £7m to £40m (£63m) before exceptional. Last year pre-tax profits were £47.3m.

Mr Noel Jarvis, chief executive, said that sales of hosiery and knitwear had fallen by half in the UK in August, when stores start to sell autumn and winter ranges. There were many months when women were not wearing tights because of the mild weather, he added.

In the UK the group supplies own-label goods to both Marks and Spencer and Sainsbury. It relies on the last five months of the year to make two-thirds of its profits.

Analysts were more surprised by the news from the US. One suggested that the US retail destocking accounted for up to £4m of the downgrade.

While clothing sales had returned to normal in the US in November and December, the final outcome for this month would be heavily influenced by the situations in France and the US, which account for about 25 per cent of group sales.

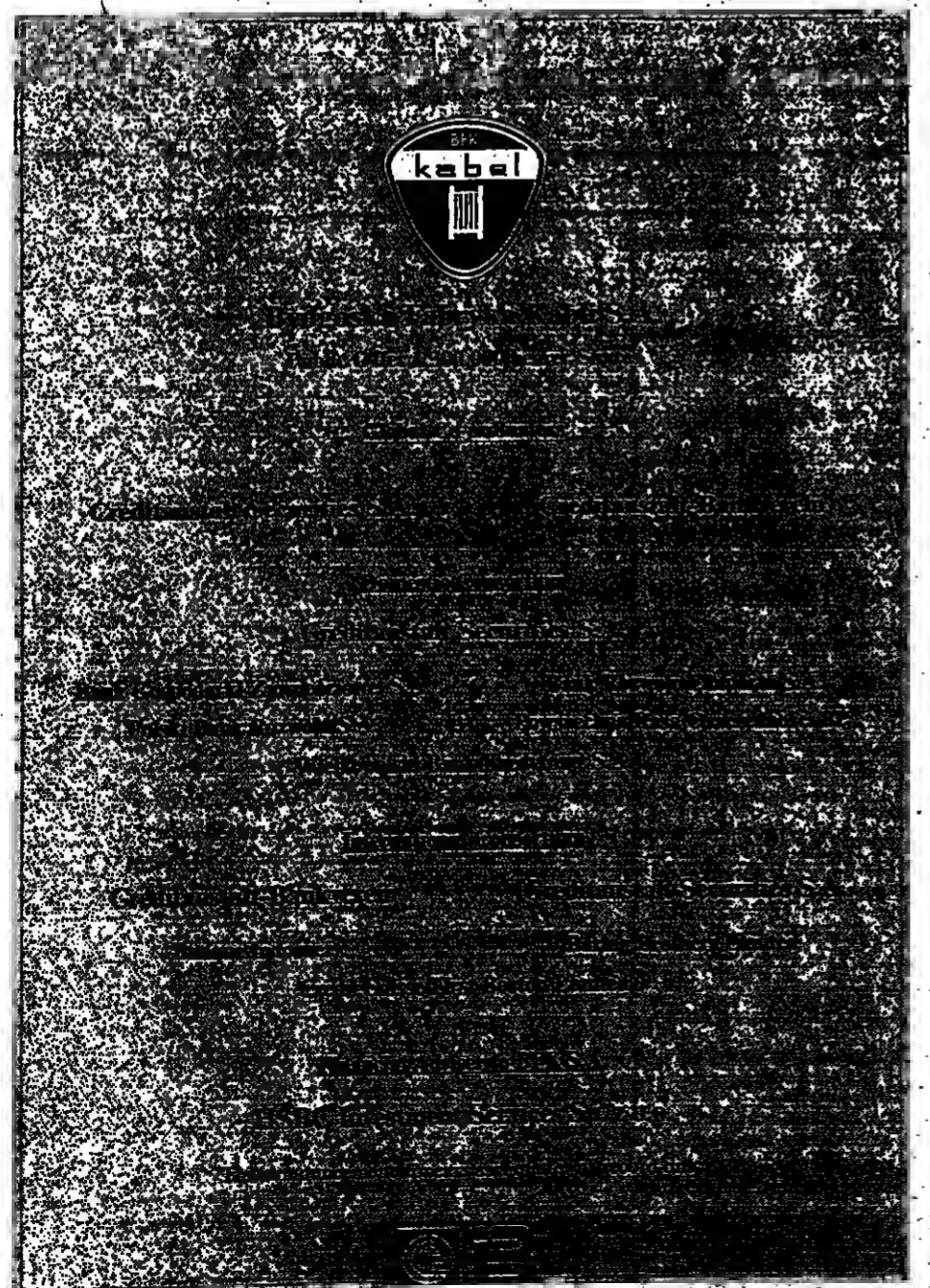
Mr Jarvis said that at some plants in the US and France workers would be getting a two-week break over Christmas as production was cut.

Courtaulds also cited margin



Noel Jarvis extended Christmas for some US plants

erosion following raw material price rises, which were proving difficult to pass on. Trading conditions had deteriorated further in "the already difficult household textiles sector".



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<p>Merger of Delepek Foods PLC and Cavaghan & Gray Limited to form Cavaghan & Gray Group PLC and placing to raise £15,000,000</p> <p>Capitalisation of the enlarged group on readmission to listing £56,000,000</p> <p>Cavaghan and Gray Limited advised by Price Waterhouse Corporate Finance</p>	<p>Management and employee buy-out of ITnet Limited from Cadbury Schweppes PLC Total finance raised in excess of £40,000,000</p> <p>Management team advised by Price Waterhouse Corporate Finance</p>
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For further information contact Tom Wilson on 0171 939 3000

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GUIDE TO LONDON SHARE SERVICE

Prices for the London Share Service delivered by FT Exel, a member of Financial Times Group.

Doing mid-prices are shown in prices unless otherwise stated. Highs and lows are based on bid-ask mid-prices over a rolling 52-week period. Where stocks are denominated in currencies other than sterling, this is indicated after the name.

Symbols referring to dividend status appear in the notes column daily as guide to yields and P/E ratios. Dividends and Dividend covers are published on alternate.

Market capitalisation shown is calculated separately for each line of stock quoted.

Earnings used in calculations are based on IRII Headline Earnings/Total Pre-earnings ratios are based on latest annual reports and accounts and, where possible, are updated on interim figures.

Yields are based on mid-prices, are gross, adjusted for 4 dividend tax credit of 20 per cent and allow for value of declared distribution and rights.

Estimated Net Asset Values (NAVs) are shown for investment trusts, in pence per share, along with the percentage discounts (Dis) or premiums (Prem) to the current closing share price. The NAVs represent prior charges at par value, convertibles converted and warrants exercised if debenture secured.

☐ Indicate the most actively traded stocks. This excludes UK stocks where transactions and prices are published continuously through the London Stock Exchange. Data source: ICSA/ISV 2001/02/03.

- Stock changes published in convenient systems (weekly) are sent to stockholders through the SEAD Internet system.
- Highs and lows marked lines have been adjusted to allow for capital changes.
- † Interim stock increased or resumed
- ‡ Interim stock reduced, passed or deferred
- Figures or report available
- Rule 21(p)(1) Overseas incorporated companies listed on an approved exchange
- Free annual interim report available, see details below

- ✱ Not listed on Stock Exchange and company not susceptible to serious degree of regulation as listed securities
- ✱ Rule 4.2(a) also incorporated non-listed companies
- ✱ Price at time of suspension
- ✱ Indicated dividend yield after paying scrip and/or rights issue
- ✱ Merger bid or reorganisation in progress
- ✱ Forecast dividend yield, p/e based on earnings updated by latest interim statement
- ✱ Unorganised collective investment scheme

Yield based on
assumed dividend
F Figure based on
prospective or other
official estimates
A Assumed dividend
yield after rights issue
B Assumed dividend
yield after scrip issue
C Rights issue pending
ACI guidelines
Z Dividend yield in-
cludes a special payment
F Yield based on
prospective or other
official estimates for
1994-95
A Assumed yield after
pending scrip and/or
rights issue
1995-96
H Forecast assumed
yield, p.a. based on
prospective or other
official estimates
W Pm ratio figure
Z Dividend yield to ca

1	g Earnings based on	W Yield based on	
2	preliminary Spence	production or other	
3	or Dividend yield	official estimates for	
4	excludes a special	1995.	
5	payment.	K Yield based on	
6	L Indicated dividend	production or other	
7	yield, p/a ratio based on	official estimates for	
8	latest annual earnings	1994	
9	or Forecast, or estimated	L Estimated unweighted	
0	unweighted dividend	yield, p/a based on	

Abbreviations:
 or or dividend.
 X or X on 1994.

year, plus based on previous year's earnings
V/P ratio are calculated under new
latest annual earnings.
All yield based on prospectus or other official estimates for
as of right;
25 or 50;
25 or capital structure

This service is available to companies whose shares are regularly traded in the United Kingdom for a fee of £125 a year for each security shown, subject to the Editor's discretion

2 FT Free Annual Reports Service
You can obtain the current annual/interim report on any company annotated with 2. Please quote the code FT8633. Ring 0181 770 0770 (open 24 hours including weekends) or Fax 0181 770 3822. Reports will be sent the next working day, subject to availability.

FT Company Focus
Comprehensive 10-14 page report available on this company, containing key FT stories from the last year, latest survey of City profit forecasts and management recommendations. \$5.00 per financial

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Up-to-the-second share prices are available by telephone from the FT Cityline service. See Monday's share price pages for details.

An international service is available for callers outside the UK, annual subscription £250 stg. Call 0171 873 4378 for more information on FT Cityline.

For readers phoning from outside UK, please dial +44 in place of the first 0.

Professional Investment Consultants

● FT Cityline Unit Trust Prices are available over the telephone. Call the FT Cityline Help Desk on (+44 171) 823 4378 for more details.

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NYSE COMPOSITE PRICES

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AMEX COMPOSITE PRICES

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INCIDENT RESPONSE: THE NEW REALITY

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SLOVAKIA

Infighting obscures economic progress

Slovakia is enjoying the second fastest economic growth in eastern Europe. But the feuding of its politicians is winning bigger headlines, write Vincent Boland and Kevin Done

Slovakia is in a strange mood as it approaches the third anniversary of its independence.

On the one hand its economy is set to grow by 7 per cent this year, the second-fastest east European economy after Albania. Year-on-year inflation was 7.6 per cent in November, down from 11.8 per cent in 1994. Current account convertibility was achieved on October 1. The currency is strong, backed by foreign exchange reserves of over \$3bn.

On the other hand, the country is going through a damaging period of political tension. A power struggle between president Michal Kovac and prime minister Vladimir Meciar grows more bitter by the day with no sign of a resolution.

Government officials complain that international attention focuses on the country's political battles rather than its creditable economic performance.

This is partly due, however, to the theatrical nature of Slovak politics, whose practitioners think nothing of going on television and attacking opponents in lurid terms. It also reflects the government's failure to sell its economic achievements coherently.

Mr Meciar's government is a coalition of populists and nationalists that took office a year ago. The prime minister's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), which dominates the coalition, draws support from industrialists and factory workers, bankers and farmers, and provides the populist heart of the administration.

The HZDS is joined on the left by the Alliance of Slovak Workers, economic hardliners who do not like privatisation but whose representatives still control the privatisation ministry and the state holding company.

On the right is the Slovak National Party (SNS), which espouses barefaced nationalism and regards Slovakia's 687,000-strong ethnic Hungarian minority in a way that borders on racism.

After some months of uncertainty, the government's economic policies are clear. Privatisation has been switched to a policy that favours domestic - and often HZDS - interests, and is progressing rapidly. A prudent fiscal policy common to the three governments that have ruled since independence on January 1, 1993 has been encouraged by the National Bank of Slovakia and the International Monetary Fund.

It has ensured that the budget deficit has fallen from 12.5 per cent of gross domestic product in 1992 to 1.4 per cent last year. This year's deficit should be similar, with social spending under tight rein and subsidies phased out.

Economic reforms are already bearing fruit, with 65 per cent of GDP now generated by the private sector, according to official estimates.

More divisive are Mr Meciar's political agenda and foreign policy. He earned kudos in March when he agreed a bilateral treaty with Hungary that fixes their common border and grants substantial rights to ethnic Hungarians, who make up 10.8 per cent of the population. But he has failed to get the SNS to back it, and its ratification is not likely before next year.

Last month a law making Slovak the official language and potentially restricting the right to use others was approved by parliament. Mr Meciar has promised to introduce legislation early next year to strengthen minority language rights, which are currently enshrined in the constitution, to stem Hungarian anger. Some clauses of the new law may be tested in the Constitutional Court, which is beginning to assert its independence from the government, providing a counterweight to political power.

In the interregnum between administrations late last year the new government grabbed control of state radio and television. It has also intimidated newspapers, many of which are openly hostile to Mr Meciar but wield little influence. Institutions including the state holding company, the anti-monopoly office, the secret service and the army are also now under government control.

There is one institution, however, that Mr Meciar has been unable to take - the presidency. Successive attempts to force Mr Kovac from office have exposed the limits of the prime minister's power and made the president into a veritable hero of democracy.

The constitution sets out clearly the roles of both president and prime minister. The former is largely symbolic. Mr Meciar would like to control it, nonetheless, either by taking the office himself or by putting in somebody he could manage.

On August 31, the president's son, Michal Kovac Jr, was kidnapped outside his Bratislava home and dumped in Austria by unknown assailants. German police want to interview him in connection with an alleged business fraud in which both he and his father strongly deny he is involved. The secret service, headed by Ivan Lexa, one of president Kovac's fiercest critics, is widely suspected of being behind the incident, which is seen as the latest attempt to discredit the president.

Developments such as these



Bratislava, Slovakia's capital, seen from its citadel: a delicate balancing act on the fault line between east and west.

Pictures: Paul Robinson

have damaged Slovakia's image. The European Union, which Mr Meciar says he wants to join, expressed serious concern in October at political developments, for the second time in less than a year. The US did likewise, and the European Parliament issued a harsh rebuke. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has made clear this month his belief that Slovakia does not belong to the front runners from central Europe - namely the Czech Republic, Poland and Hungary - for early membership of the EU.

Mr Meciar reacts defensively to these demarches. He blames foreign governments for talking only to the opposition, among which he numbers Mr Kovac. Yet diplomats and opposition figures complain the government maintains

only a half-hearted dialogue with western Europe. Mr Meciar's conflicting signals on joining the EU, while failing to develop the means to achieve it, have cost him friends abroad.

He is known to be angry at not being invited to make official visits abroad. He has not been to Bonn, Paris or London on a prime ministerial visit. The EU says Mr Meciar must first prove himself a democrat. "Invitations will come at the end of the democratic process," says a western diplomat in Bratislava.

Slovakia see a double standard here. They argue that the democratic process in, say, the Czech Republic or Hungary is not complete, yet the prime ministers of those countries are fêted abroad. But, counters the diplomat, "there are special

circumstances in Slovakia".

Chief among these is the government's unwillingness to tolerate dissent. Parliamentary opposition is weak and effectively powerless. The government accuses it of being unpatriotic. Control of TV means only official views are aired. Many sensitive jobs are politicised, with loyalty to the government prized over an ability to do the task.

Comparisons with the key pragmatism of the Czech Republic, though inevitable, may be unfair. When the two countries split, Slovakia, having just emerged from communism, ended centuries of domination but inherited severe economic problems.

It is small, with a population of 5.3m, essentially rural - although it also inherited much of the former Czechoslovak

army arms industry, which now faces a daunting task to restructure - and it can be wary of a larger neighbour and an alienated minority that does not feel at home. It is also resentful of the scepticism that greeted its creation.

The resentment is understandable but may now be counterproductive. Economic achievements aside, Slovaks have created a state out of very little. There are free elections, a fundamentally strong constitution, an independent central bank and an independent judiciary. "We underestimated the Slovaks," notes Jaromir Cekota of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Bratislava.

Political tensions are not reflected widely among the

population. Much of it wants an end to the political battle. Slovaks and Hungarians live peacefully together. They have other concerns. Unemployment is 12.8 per cent, though it has been higher. Economic gains are not widely spread. Life is still tough.

"Slovaks are easy to govern," says Eduard Kukán, foreign minister in the last government. "They are happy with the little they have and even if you cut it a little they will be a little less happy but still happy."

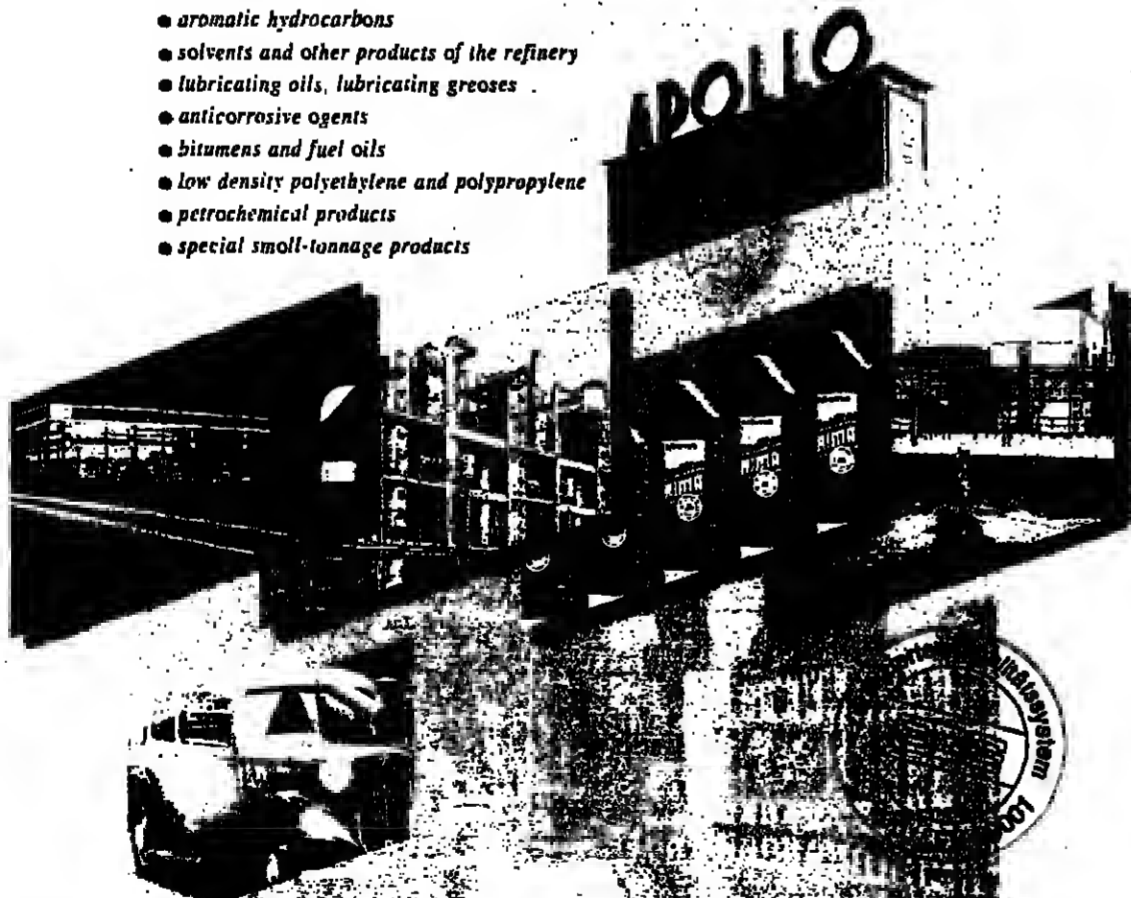
Independence eventually brings self-confidence, and economic prosperity should bring political maturity. The danger is that it could fall too far behind in the race to join western structures. Staying in this race will be the ultimate test of Slovakia's independence.



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Essential information

Year	1992	1993	1994
Crude oil processing (million tons)	4,41	4,34	4,81
Turnover (billion Sk*)	25,15	28,00	33,14
Pre-tax profit (billion Sk)	1,88	1,61	3,14
Export (billion Sk)	3,36	10,88	14,26
No. of employees	7054	5920	5309

* Exchange rate Sk 31.158 to US\$ (2 January 1995)

Shareholders structure (11. 1. 1995)

Slovintegra, a.s.*	38,99 %
National Property Fund of the Slovak Republic	25,23 %
Foreign investors, FBRD	16,07 %
Domestic investors	15,04 %
Individual shareholders	3,39 %
Restitutions Investment Fund	1,28 %

* Managers and Employees Joint Stock Company

The ten most profitable Visegrád companies, 1994 (size ranking by turnover in brackets)

September 1995 Business Central Europe

ČEZ (6)	Czech R./energy	\$562,4m
Slovenský plynárenský priemysel (8)	Slovakia/energy	\$414,2m
KHGM (7)	Poland/metallurgy	\$282,3m
SPT Telecom (22)	Czech R./telecoms	\$260,6m
Petrochemia Plock (3)	Poland/fuel energy	\$259,0m
CPP Transgas (19)	Czech R./energy	\$167,2m
CPN (1)	Czech R./energy	\$147,6m
VSŽ (17)	Slovakia/metallurgy	\$120,0m
Slovnaft (13)	Slovakia/fuel energy	\$98,1m
Rafineria Czechowice-Dziedzice (93)	Poland/energy	\$87,6m

SAUDI ARABIA

Shocks overshadow kingdom's progress

A rise in fundamentalism and the King's recent illness have put new strains on this traditional but nevertheless fast-changing ally of the west. David Gardner reports

Just as Saudi Arabia was beginning to adjust to life in the (relatively) straitened circumstances of lower oil revenues, it has suffered two heavy blows in the past two months.

On November 13, a car bomb destroyed a US-staffed Saudi National Guard communications centre in Riyadh in the first real terror assault on the kingdom. Then, at the beginning of this month, King Fahd Bin Abdul-Aziz, the frail Saudi monarch, was taken into hospital, triggering fears of a succession crisis.

Both incidents provoked a similar, if short-lived, increase in oil prices, as markets worried about the stability of a country which has a quarter of the world's proven oil reserves. These events occurred, moreover, as the kingdom was at last making some headway in bringing its finances under control, after a decade of soaring budget and current account deficits.

The two shocks have also overshadowed Saudi Arabia's significantly improved relations with some of its neighbours. Border disputes have been settled or largely resolved with Kuwait, Qatar, Oman and - despite recent frontier clashes - Yemen.

The attention which the bombing and the King's illness have received outside the Kingdom have been magnified in proportion to the jealousy with which the Saudi authorities have sought to guard them from public view. King Fahd, for example, left hospital on December 8 and is recuperating from what is officially described as "a sudden indisposition" but is widely believed to have been a minor stroke.

The information vacuum has allowed lurid speculation to surround the two incidents, both inside the Kingdom, and

in the outside world where Islamist opponents of the ruling al-Saud dynasty conduct their fax-borne propaganda war against the regime. Their current line is that a power struggle has broken out inside the ruling family and that November's attack on the National Guard - which is headed by Crown Prince Abdullah, the King's heir-apparent - could have been part of this. Such ideas proliferate easily, and are part of the price the al-Saud pay for their closed society, where efforts to impose a combination of secrecy and strict security are frequently thwarted in the age of the modern and the fax.

The most likely perpetrators of the bombing are Saudi Islamic fundamentalists who, in the wake of the Gulf war, have called with growing stridency for fewer links with the US and the west, an end to alleged royal corruption, and in some cases for the ruling family to share power by allowing Saudis to elect representatives.

Islamist dissidence has risen since Saudi Arabia was used as the base for 800,000 US-led troops ranged against Iraq.



King Fahd reshuffled the cabinet in August to promote technocrats

after President Saddam Hussein's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. It is no accident that the bombers chose a target which hit the regime and the US in one blow: five American servicemen were among the dead.

External support from either Iraq or Iran for such actions cannot be ruled out. But leaflets warning the west against backing the Saudi regime have circulated inside the kingdom ever since last year's round-up of hundreds of Islamist clerics and dissident academics. This followed agitation against the ruling family from the north-western province of Qassim, a seedbed of fundamentalism.

Indigenous Islamists had not previously demonstrated such operational capability. However, Saudi intelligence encouraged thousands of volunteers - 4,000 from the holy city of Medina alone - to fight in the 1980s alongside the Mujahideen in the western-backed jihad (holy war) against the Soviet invaders of Afghanistan. Former "Afghanis", as the Arab volunteers are known, lead the Islamist insurgencies in Algeria and Egypt, and it seems unlikely that the most numerous Saudi contingent has forgotten its zeal, its skills, and the taste of victory in Afghanistan.

When the King extensively reshuffled the cabinet in August to promote technocrats (20 out of 28 of his ministers have US degrees), the Saudi family tightened its control of the security set-up. But he also sacked six of the kingdom's seven university chancellors and replaced more than half the members of the Council of the Ulama, the religious establishment, in two little-noticed moves aimed at countering the spread of Islamist zealotry.

Throughout the Arab world, rulers are sensitive to the

charge of being subservient to the US which is in turn seen as pro-Israeli and anti-Muslim. Saudi Arabia, the original Islamic fundamentalist state following the al-Saud's 18th Century alliance with the austere Wahhabi brand of Islam, is no exception - except that the charge strikes at the heart of ruling family's legitimacy, as custodian of the two holiest Moslem shrines in Mecca and Medina.

But there is little to suggest that when King Fahd leaves the scene, the succession will not be smooth. Al-Saud watching is a rather less exact science than Kremlin-watching during the cold war, but everything points to a takeover by Crown Prince Abdullah, to be followed in his turn by Prince Sultan, the defence minister.

Afficionados will only get really excited when Prince Sultan names his Crown Prince, probably Prince Salman, the influential governor of Riyadh.

All the above are full brothers except Prince Abdullah, a half-brother. But the Crown Prince has the National Guard, the main instrument of internal control; he is valued by the family for his rapport with the tribal Bedouin; and he is popular in spite of (perhaps even because of) his stuttering public manner. One moderate Islamist intellectual describes him as "a humanist" and a member of the court concurs, while complaining that he is "surrounded by bad advisers."

All this assumes that one-man control will endure undiminished, and highlights the absolutism of the Saudi

monarchy. "Decision-making is concentrated in one man," says one western ambassador, "and that cannot continue - not because there is anything inherently wrong with absolute monarchy, but because something that worked in 1985 (when modern Saudi Arabia was put together by conquest) won't work in 1995."

King Fahd two years ago created a *Majlis al-Shura* (consultative council), whose members he appoints, and whose deliberations he is free to ignore. This falls far short of demands from moderate Islamists and liberal critics for a move to an elected assembly. Yet last year's budget was submitted in outline to the *Majlis* and then amended in the light of its review - more than many elected parliaments can claim

in shaping policy.

The consultation helped smooth the way for a second round of real spending and subsidy cuts which, along with a 21 per cent rise in the average Saudi oil price in the first half, have reduced the budget deficit from 17 per cent of GDP in 1990 to something near balance this year. The current account deficit has also shrunk, from 27 per cent in 1991 to a likely 4 per cent this year, according to a broadly complimentary recent IMF report.

There is less confidence of a return to high oil prices occurring; rather a determination to keep crude output at current levels of 8m barrels a day so as never again to be caught with falling prices and falling production, as Saudi Arabia was

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in the mid-1990s.

The new emphasis is on mobilising the private sector, through privatisation, more open capital markets, private financing of infrastructure and development of new mineral resources. The language is changing as such sectors as petrochemicals are opened to private business. Mr Ibrahim Ibn Salamah, managing director of Sabic, the highly profitable, majority state-owned petrochemicals and plastics group, says: "Our future depends on our competitiveness. We are competing worldwide; why shouldn't we compete inside the country?"

Such a trend could bring conflict with the 5,000-odd al-Saud princes, accustomed as many of them are to treating the country's wealth as private patrimony. Indeed, plans to tap export credits are coming to grief because of the kingdom's refusal to give "sovereign guarantees", easily construed as a possible lien on the private fortunes of the sovereign and his closest kin.

Yet the al-Saud, through family and tribal ties, have a finger on the pulse of their traditional but fast-changing society. Their resilience is legendary - surviving war, the strains of sudden oil wealth followed by an even more sudden oil price collapse, and Islamist challenge of the indigenous and Iranian variety. They can be expected to react vigorously to the challenge to their hegemony offered by November's bombing.

They are not about to become a bicycling monarchy but, in the view of one western ambassador, "they will now have to restrain members of the royal family, and turn the princes into paying members of society."

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